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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Control: 8103

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 14, 1958
4:49 P.M.

FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1787, NOVEMBER 14, 8 P.M.

SENT DEPARTMENT 1787, REPEATED INFORMATION BERLIN 18, BONN 139, LONDON 332, MOSCOW 77.

HAVE DISCUSSED BERLIN SITUATION WITH DARIDAN AND JOXE. FORMER CONSIDERS SITUATION SERIOUS FOR LONG PULL BUT NOT IMMEDIATELY EXPLOSIVE. LIKE ALL FONOFF OFFICIALS WITH WHOM I AND OTHER MEMBERS EMBASSY HAVE TALKED, DARIDAN RECOMMENDS THAT ALLIES SHOW STRONG, UNITED POSITION. PREPARED TO ISSUE STRONG JOINT STATEMENT, SUBJECT GERMAN ACQUIESCENCE.

JOXE ALSO VIEWS SITUATION VERY SERIOUSLY AND BELIEVES THERE IS VERY DEFINITE CONNECTION BETWEEN GUMULKA'S RECENT VISIT MOSCOW (SOVIET REITERATION SUPPORT ODER-NEISER FRONTIER), REVISED RAPACKI PLAN, AND KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENT RE BERLIN. JOXE LIKEWISE DOES NOT THINK SITUATION WILL BECOME GRAVE OVERNIGHT, BUT HE PLACES NO LIMITS ON DANGER ITS POTENTIALITIES OR EXTENT TO WHICH KHRUSHCHEV MAY BE PREPARED GO. HE BELIEVES KHRUSHCHEV, INSPIRED BY TWO BASIC TENETS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY; (1) GET YANKEES OUT OF EUROPE AND (2) PREVENT AN ARMED UNIFIED WESTERN EUROPE, REASONS THAT AS (A) NATO ENCOUNTERING DIFFICULTIES, DE GAULLE'S PROPOSALS, ETC., (B) GERMAN POLICY RE UNIFICATION CHANGING, (C) EUROPEAN INTERNAL SQUABBLES, FREE TRADE AREA, COMMON MARKET, NOW WAS OPPORTUNE TIME TO ACT. JOXE ALSO THINKS KHRUSHCHEV CERTAINLY INSPIRED BY HIS CONSTANT FEAR OF GROWING REARMAMENT WEST GERMANY AND POSSIBLY ALSO BY INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES USSR (RECENT ACCUSATIONS AGAINST BULGANIN, TROUBLE WITH MOLOTOV, UP-COMING PARTY CONGRESS, ETC.).

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By KEN NARA Date 6/2/84

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-2- 1787, NOVEMBER 14, 8 P.M., FROM PARIS

JOXE ENVISAGES POSSIBLE FIRST STEP AS WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM EAST BERLIN AND POSSIBLE LATER WITHDRAWAL FROM EAST GERMANY. ON THIS POINT HE SAYS HIS OWN ADVISERS, SUCH AS LALOY, THOROUGHLY DISAGREE WITH HIM, BUT JOXE RECALLS CONVERSATIONS WHICH HE HAD WHEN HE WAS AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW WITH CHUKOV AND OTHERS IN WHICH THEY INDICATED THAT SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM GERMANY WAS FAR FROM UNCONCEIVABLE. JOXE BELIEVES THAT KHRUSHCHEV WOULD BE WILLING TO PAY PRICE OF LOSING GDR TO OBTAIN A NEUTRALIZED UNITED GERMANY. THIS HE BELIEVES (#) ON RUSSIAN CHARACTER WHICH PERMITS DRAMATIC CHANGES ALMOST OVERNIGHT, SUCH AS HAVE FREQUENTLY CHARACTERIZED SOVIET POLICY IN PAST.

JOXE, WHILE GRAVELY CONCERNED WITH SERIOUSNESS OF POSSIBILITIES WHICH IN HIS MIND ARE UNLIMITED, EMPHASIZES HIS BELIEF THAT KHRUSHCHEV HAS MADE MISCALCULATION AND THAT, CONTRARY TO LATTER'S EXPECTATION, KHRUSHCHEV'S DECLARATION RE BERLIN WILL SOLIDIFY BRITISH-FRENCH-U.S. AS WELL AS NATO ALLIANCE.

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